

THE AUTHOR'S DRAFT
OF NICOLAS CABASILAS'
“ANTI-ZEALOT” DISCOURSE IN
PARISINUS GRAECUS 1276

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I

1. SINCE the publication in these *Papers* of Nicolas Cabasilas' *Discourse Concerning Illegal Acts of Officials Daringly Committed Against Things Sacred*,¹ a new manuscript of this work has come to my attention.² It is contained in *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, a miscellany, on fols. 65^r-87^r and 96^r-99^r. There the text of the *Discourse* appears anonymously under a different title: Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις, *To the Powers That Be*. In Omont's *Inventaire*³ this treatise is attributed to the Patriarch Philotheus Kokkinos. The difference in title and in attribution will explain why I was not aware of *Parisinus Gr. 1276* when preparing my edition of Cabasilas' *Discourse*.

Having examined this new witness, I do not propose to introduce any drastic changes in the text of my edition. But the *Parisinus Gr. 1276* is of great importance for the history of Cabasilas' text. I believe that in this manuscript we have a blending of two early versions of the *Discourse*, with changes, erasures, and additions by the author's own hand. I should also like to suggest that the *Parisinus* contains a hitherto unknown fragment by Cabasilas.

2. Folios 1^r-64^r of *Parisinus Gr. 1276* contain several works of Philotheus. The quires of this portion are numbered regularly from α to η (fol. 57). Both the numbering of quires and the type of paper change with folio 65^r, which is the first page of the *Discourse*. This folio has the quiremark α, an indication that originally this copy of the *Discourse* either was a separate entity or, conceivably, stood at the beginning of a larger manuscript. The two following quires of the *Discourse* are numbered regularly, β on fol. 73 and γ on fol. 81. Then there is some confusion: beginning with fol. 87 whole groups of folios are clearly out of order. The next quiremark is again an α; it appears on fol. 104^r, and coincides with the beginning of a part of Nicephorus Gregoras' *History*. This latter work is, then, another previously independent component of the *Parisinus*. Thus the portion of the *Parisinus* comprising, among other texts, the *Discourse* is not related to the folios which precede and follow it. We may now proceed to the analysis of that portion itself.

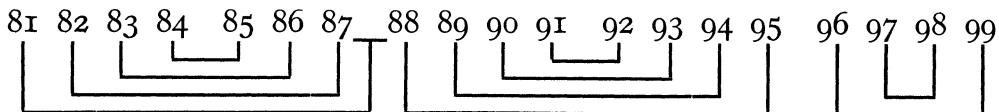
As the first two quires of the *Discourse* (fols. 65-80) are regular, I shall be chiefly concerned with the area of confusion, between fol. 81, on which quire γ begins, and fol. 99, which is the highest numbered folio containing the text

¹ *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), 91-125. Henceforth in quoting the *Discourse* I shall refer to paragraph and line of this edition.

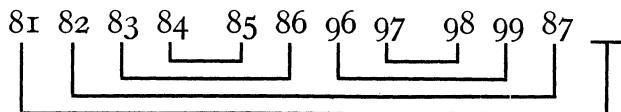
² Rev. Jean Meyendorff has called this manuscript to my attention and I wish to thank him for this information.

³ H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I (1886), 284.

of the *Discourse*. The present distribution of quires in this section of the *Parisinus* is as follows:

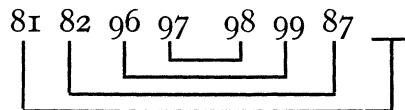


Folios 88–95, comprising one quire, contain the beginning of an anonymous treatise against Acindynus (its misplaced continuation starts on fol. 205^r), and are written by hands different from those of the *Discourse*. The whole quire was inserted into the *Discourse* by mistake, perhaps at the time when the present *Parisinus* was being made up.⁴ It may also have been on that occasion that fol. 87, the last leaf of the *Discourse*, got out of place. It belongs after fol. 99 (99^v εἰ δὲ καὶ || 87^r σοφοί τινες, cf. *Discourse*, 59,17). Before the *Discourse* was incorporated into the *Parisinus*, the arrangement of its final part was presumably as follows:



But fol. 83^r–86^v, forming a *binio*, while definitely a part of the *Discourse*, are a clean copy by a hand different from that which wrote the main text of the other folios. I shall call this latter hand A (cf. figs. 1–6, 8, 10); that of the *binio*, hand A^b (cf. figs. 7, 9). This *binio*, corresponding to *Discourse*, 41, 23–50,7, is an insertion, previous to the inclusion of this work into the *Parisinus*, but later than a certain stage in the formation of the text of the *Discourse*. That it is later can be deduced from the observation that fol. 82^v (by hand A) ends in a deleted half-word τολμη- (standing at the end of a long deleted passage, cf. fig. 6), while fol. 96^r (also by hand A) begins with the other half, -θείσας (cf. fig. 8), and fol. 86^v (last to be written by hand A^b) ends with τολμη- (cf. fig. 9). Compare *Discourse*, 50,7: τολμηθείσας. Also, the last legible word before the deleted passage on fol. 82^v is δανείζοντες (cf. fig. 6), while the first words of fol. 83^r (with which hand A^b begins) are οὐτε τοίνυν (cf. fig. 7). Compare *Discourse*, 41,23 δανείζοντες. οὐτε τοίνυν.

Thus originally fol. 82 was followed by fol. 96 without interruption, and before the insertion of the portion 41,23–50,7 by hand A^b, the final part of the *Discourse* was arranged as follows:



In other words, it was a *quaternio* with one stub, and the last of the three quires. At one time folos. 65–82; 96–99; 87 of *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, all written by

⁴ *Parisinus Gr. 1276* had its present form by the third quarter of the sixteenth century. This may be deduced from fol. 1^r, where one reads the ownership remark by Arsenius of Monembasia (Aristobulus Apostolides, 1465–1535). On Arsenius' chronology and the *scriptorium* to which he belonged, see, e.g., M. Wittek, "Manuscrits et codicologie," *Scriptorium*, VII (1953), esp. 290–96.

hand A, formed a continuous and probably independent whole, consisting of three quires and containing *Discourse*, 1—41,23; 50—60. I shall call this the First Version.

The First Version is the earliest fully preserved form of the *Discourse*. However, it is not the earliest attainable stage of its composition. The first quire of the *Discourse* (fols. 65–72) shows traces of editorial interference which occurred before the First Version acquired its final shape. The last eight and one-half lines of fol. 65^v are crossed out (cf. fig. 1). The first twelve lines of the next page are but an expanded variant of the deleted passage (cf. the collation below, *ad Discourse*, 3,9 with the text of the *Discourse*, 4,1/II). As many as six folios lying between 65 and 72, the first and the last in the quire, may have been replaced. That some reshuffling did occur between fols. 65 and 72 is apparent from the observation that the text in these two folios, which form a single sheet, is displaced by about two interlinear spaces downwards in comparison with that of the intervening fols. 66–71. I shall call fols. 65 and 72 the traces of the Earliest Stage.

While the insertion by hand A^b (fols. 83^r—86^v) presents a clean copy, the text written by A exhibits a large number of changes, long additions, rescriptions, erasures, and deletions, most of which are attributable to one hand, which I shall call A². This hand takes many liberties with the text. It changes νόμους πατοῦσι into λύουσι νόμους (1,1/2), σοφοῦ into Σολομῶντος (1,12), καλέσαι τολμήσης into καλέσης (34,24), γραφὴν into αἰτίαν (39,10), and ἐπίσκοπον into ἱερέα (56,4); it crosses out four lines of the text and substitutes for them a much expanded version of the same content (cf. the collation below, *ad* 21,17 and fig. 10); it changes ἀφαιροῦνται into ἀφαιρούμενοι and adds a whole clause (cf. collation *ad* 4,3 and fig. 2); adds a long passage in the upper margin of fol. 72^v (cf. collation *ad* 21,5); another, a very long one, on the lower margins of fols. 75^v and 76^r (cf. collation *ad* 27,6 and figs. 3 and 4); it adds a sentence at the bottom of fol. 78^r (cf. collation *ad* 33,1 and fig. 5); it rewrites the words τοῦ συμφέροντος τυγχάνειν on the previous (and different) text (21,11 and fig. 10); it erases a whole line on fol. 82^v, then crosses out the remaining lines which follow (cf. collation *ad* 41,23 and fig. 6); it shortens the text by crossing out a single word (cf. collation *ad* 20,16), a group of words (cf. collation *ad* 59,22) or whole clauses (cf. collation *ad* 29,16 and fig. 4; 34,25; 38,27). I shall call the form of the *Discourse* which comprises the insertion by hand A^b (fols. 83^r–86^v) and the changes by hand A², the Draft of the Second Enlarged Version.

The insertion by A^b and the changes made by A² in the text written by A appear in the main body of *Parisinus Gr. 1213* and its contemporary *Parisinus Suppl. Gr. 681*—manuscripts on which I relied in editing the *Discourse*. Either these manuscripts took over the corrections by A², or some Byzantine scholar brought *Parisinus Gr. 1276* up to date by collating it with a model having essentially the same text as *Parisinus Gr. 1213* and *Suppl. Gr. 681*. Deletions, hesitations, and stylistic corrections undertaken by A² *within* the added passages show that no model was involved. A corrector having a text of the type represented by *Parisinus Gr. 1213* before his eyes would copy what he saw;

he would not add, and then delete, the words ἀπὸ τοῦ παρανομεῖν (cf. collation below *ad 21,17* and fig. 10); write first μαστίλων and then μαστίξας (*ad 27,15* and fig. 3); write λέγων, cross it out, and continue with οὗτῳ καλῶν (*ad 27,19* and fig. 3); change διαφυγεῖν into διαπεσεῖν (*ad 28,8* and fig. 4); or recast a whole passage in the marginal addition (cf. collation *ad 28,1/2* and fig. 3). The Draft of the Second Enlarged Version is earlier than *Parisinus Gr. 1213* and *Suppl. Gr. 681*.

The comparison between the *Discourse* in *Parisinus Gr. 1213* (= P) and the Draft of the Second Enlarged Version (whether by hand A or A^b) shows a very considerable number of smaller textual differences, including differences in the choice of words; compare τοὺς μοναχούς P: τοῖς φροντισταῖς A (cf. collation, *ad 4,2/3*); κερδάνης Ιητεῖς P: κερδάνοις σκοπεῖς A^b (*ad 47,7*). For some other instances, cf. collation *ad 4,3; 7,1; 10,6; 13,14; 19,1; 23,5; 23,33/34; 28,19; 30,5; 41,7; 51,13* (all examples taken from the text written by A); **44,18; 48,18; 48,19** (examples taken from the text by A^b; the variants are understandably fewer in this portion, since it is a clean copy, already incorporating many of the author's corrections). We must, therefore, postulate an intermediate link, now lost, between the Draft of the Second Enlarged Version and the version represented by *Parisinus Gr. 1213* (and *Suppl. Gr. 681*). This link was a version of the *Discourse* into which further textual improvements were incorporated. I shall call it the Third Improved Version. As the improvements were minor, it is probable that they were made on the clean copy (also postulated) of the Second Enlarged Version. I shall therefore identify this corrected clean copy as the postulated link between the Draft of the Second Version and *Parisinus Gr. 1213*. The text represented by *Parisinus Gr. 1213* shall be called the Final Version. In all probability it is almost identical with the Third.

Omont dated the whole *Parisinus Gr. 1276* in the fifteenth century. But as this manuscript is a miscellany, questions of date arise for each of its individual components. In my opinion the folios of the *Parisinus Gr. 1276* comprising the Second Version of the *Discourse* were written before 1400.⁵ The available evidence does not contradict the proposed dating. The Draft of the Second Version is earlier than *Parisinus Gr. 1213* and *Suppl. Gr. 681*, the earliest representatives of the Final Version, which date from about the middle of the fifteenth century.⁶ Hands A and A² of the Draft can easily be fourteenth-century hands (see figs. 1–6, 8, 10); hand A^b is more recent than A, but it, too, looks earlier than 1400 (see figs. 7 and 9).⁷ The watermarks confirm the attribution

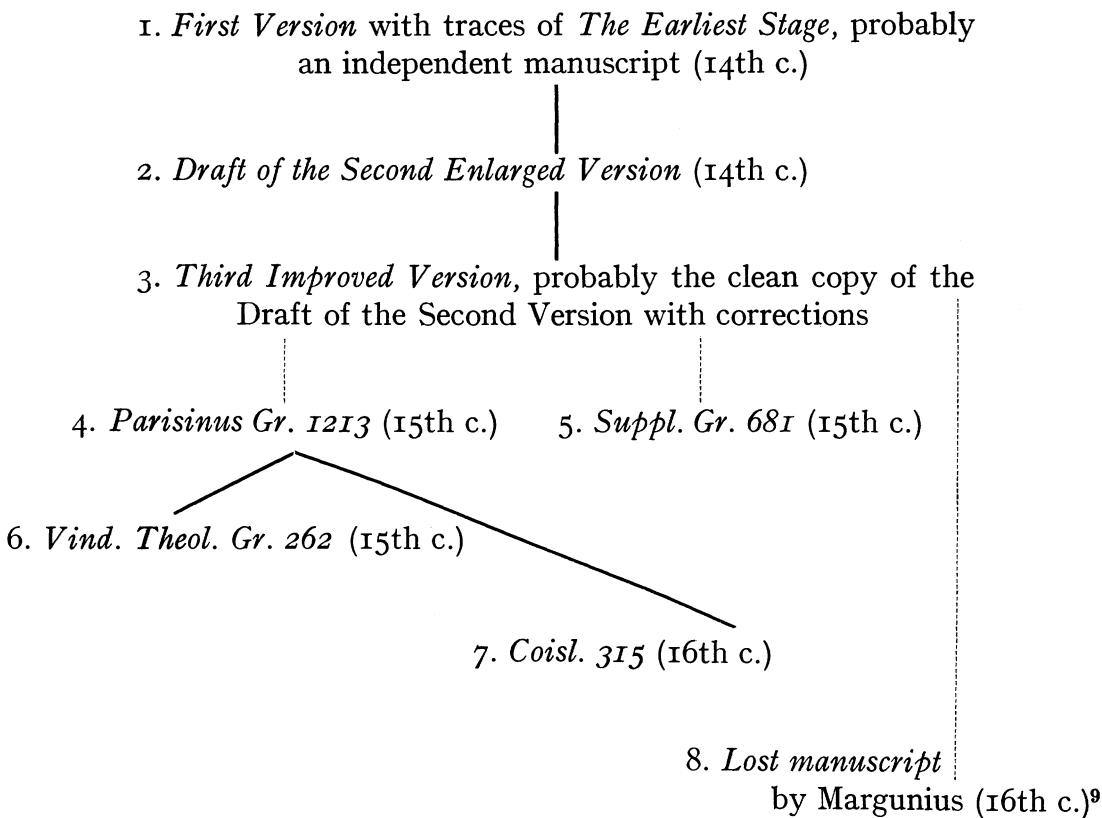
⁵ Other parts of this manuscript should also be assigned to the fourteenth century. The watermarks of fol. 88–96 and 205 (two circles, as in C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes ...* [1907], no. 3193) occur in 1368. The text of Gregoras' *History* starting on fol. 104^r is by a hand contemporary with the author.

⁶ For the date of *Parisinus Gr. 1213*, see R.-J. Loenertz, *Les recueils des lettres de Démétrius Cydonès*, (Studi e Testi, CXXXI [1947]), 24, note 1, and 57, note 2 (about 1440?; the evidence is indirect). In any case, the *Parisinus* was copied by the scribe Joasaph, who may have known Cabasilas personally; see Loenertz, *ibidem*. For an improved text of Joasaph's metric address to Cabasilas in *Par. Gr. 1213* see L. Politis, "Eine Schreiberschule im Kloster τῶν Ὁδηγῶν," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, LI (1958), 22, note 8.

⁷ For hand Ab, cf. *Sinait. 728*, the first 106 folios (date: ca. 1375?); *Vat. Gr. 1515* (a *menaeum*, date: Sept. 16, 1382, cf. fol. 275^r); *Petropol. Gr. 565* (date: 1392), in G. Cereteli—S. Sobolevski, *Exempla codicium graecorum litteris minusculis scriptorum ...*, II (1913), table LIV. I am indebted to Professor Alexander Turyn (Urbana, Ill.) for these references. He also kindly examined the photostats of *Parisinus Gr. 1276* and expressed his agreement with the dating proposed here.

of the *Discourse* in *Parisinus Gr. 1276* to the fourteenth century.⁸ I consider their evidence to be decisive.

We may now recapitulate the history of the text of the *Discourse* in the following *stemma*:



3. The passages added by hand A² have a number of stylistic traits in common with the text of the First Version: for τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τοῦ νόμου (now in *Discourse*, 21,8), cf. 25,9 and 47,3; for συμφέροντος τυγχάνειν (now 21,12) and οὕπω τὸ συμφέρον εὗρες (now 21,18), cf. 23,6/7; for θεόν ἐκβάλλεις (now 21,25), cf. 30,6/7; for δικάζειν with a dative (now 27,9/10), cf. 40,11–12; for οὐδὲν ἀν εἴποι τις εἰ μὴ μαίνηται (now 27,12), cf. εἴποι τις ἀν εῦ φρονῶν (32,22) and 35,22; for δίκην... ἀποκεῖσθαι (now 27,16), cf. 52,7 and 56,17. One expression introduced as a correction by A² (1,1/2, λύουσι νόμους) occurs repeatedly in the main text written by A: cf. 30,8; 32,8; 36,3.

⁸ More precisely, to the last thirty years or even the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Here I follow Professor Jean Irigoin (Paris) who was kind enough to examine the watermarks of the relevant folios for me. I submit the summary of his findings: (1) Quire α (fols. 65–72): *amphisbaena* (a serpent with two heads, with a crown of five *fleurons* above it) = C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes ...* (1907), no. 13621 (dates: 1375 to 1388); variants in V. Mošin and S. M. Traljić, *Vodeni znakovi XIII. i XIV. vijeka*, I–II (1957), nos. 6990–6992 (dates: 1375 and 1380). (2) Quire β (fols. 73–80): two circles, similar to Briquet no. 3193 (date: 1368); but the paper's wiremark is closer to Briquet nos. 3194–3195 (dates: 1392 and 1398 respectively), and to Mošin-Traljić, no. 2086 (date: 1392–1394). (3) Quire γ (as reconstructed by me, fols. 81, 82; 96–99; 87): *amphisbaena*, as in quire α. The insertion (fols. 83–86) seemingly shows no watermarks.

⁹ Elements of 1 and 2 are in *Parisinus Gr. 1276*. 3 is postulated. 4–7 contain the Final Version. 5 is a fragment. 6 is a copy, direct or intermediate, of 4. 7 is a copy of 4. For 8, see *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), 88, note 29.

When we compare the insertion by hand A^b (now in *Discourse*, 41,23—50,7) with the First Version for thought and style, we obtain similar results. The argument of paragraph 45 of the insertion takes up the theme announced at the beginning of the First Version (8); the thoughts of 42 and 47 (insisting on the spontaneity of gifts) occur in 35; the view expressed in 47 (that exactions harm the souls of those on whom they are levied) is repeated in 52. The same scriptural quotations are used for similar arguments in the insertion and in the First Version: for example I Cor. 9:14 in 45,2 and 38,26 (cf. 8,6); II Cor. 9:7 in 46,5 and 38,29. Stylistically, the insertion blends well with the prose of the First Version: Compare the mannerisms τοσοῦτον — ὅσον instead of the expected datives (45,13/14) with 54,4 and 56,17/18; οὐδεῖται λόγου (43,1) with τί δεῖ λόγων ἔτερων (40,17); πολὺ τὸ μέσον (41,27) with ὅσον αὐτοῦ θεοῦ τὸ μέσον (29,18); τὸν ὕσον τρόπον “in the same way” (43,21) with the same expression in 23,19/20 and 24,3 (cf. also collation *ad* 3,9); κεῖται δίκη (46,18) with κείσεται δίκη (56,17) and δίκην, ἥ κεῖται (52,7); τῶν . . . γερῶν ἐκβάλλει (44,14; cf. 46,27; 49,13/14) with νόμοι . . . τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκβάλλουσιν (58,6); for ποιμένα . . . ποιεῖ μισθωτόν (42,3/4), compare 37,13/15. In the First Version, the adversaries are repeatedly threatened with Hell, γέεννα (21,27; 22,33; 33,12; 59,9); the threat is also made in the insertion (46,18). The passages added by A², the insertion by A^b and the First Version were composed by the same author.

I draw the following conclusions from the foregoing observations: Hand A², whose many corrections are largely responsible for the Second Version of the *Discourse*, is neither that of a scribe nor of a corrector, but rather that of a fourteenth-century editor. An editor whose style and thoughts are the same as those of the text he is editing can only be the author himself. Changes made by hand A² in the First Version of the *Discourse* are specimens of the author's own handwriting.

In *Parisinus Gr. 1276* the *Discourse* appears anonymously. *Suppl. Gr. 681* is a fragment without beginning. Only one independent witness, *Parisinus Gr. 1213*, indirectly attributes the *Discourse* to Nicolas Cabasilas. There is, however, no doubt that this attribution is correct. Any reader of Cabasilas' diatribes *Against Usurers* and *On Usury*,¹⁰ which also touch upon social and legal problems, will testify that many mannerisms of style and composition are the same in all these works. Cabasilas is the author of the *Discourse*, and the author's corrections made by hand A² in *Parisinus Gr. 1276* are specimens of Cabasilas' handwriting.¹¹

This deduction is not contradicted by the evidence of Cod. *Panaghias 157* (formerly *Chalcensis* τῆς ἐμπορικῆς Σχολῆς 153) of the Oecumenical Patriarchate. Fols. 294^r–300^v of this manuscript purport to be an autograph by Cabasilas

¹⁰ *Against Usurers*, in Migne, PG, CL, 727–750; *Address to Anne of Savoy on Usury*, ed. R. Guiland, in *Εἰς Μνήμην Σπ. Λάμπρου* (1935), 274–77.

¹¹ I hesitate to ascribe hand A to Cabasilas. True, on fol. 77^r scribe A makes a stylistic change in the text (see collation *ad* 30,30; cf. also *ad* 29,2/4; 35,5; 39,5; 54,17); he also leaves space for legal quotations, which he inserts later (see collation *ad* 50,9 and 11 and fig. 8); but once he omits a whole (indispensable) clause because of a *homoeoteleuton* (cf. *ad* 56,2/3). Such an error can hardly be imputed to an author copying his own work. It is strange, however, that Cabasilas should not have caught this omission when revising the First Version of the *Discourse*.

(cf. fig. 12 with the remark at the top of folio 294^r: κυροῦ Νικολάου Καβάσιλα τοῦ Χαμαέτου οἰκείοχειρα). Fols. 295–300 form a *seño*; fol. 294 is glued on. The hand seems to change at fol. 295^r, line 2. I find the handwriting of fols. 295^r, line 2–300^v (cf. fig. 13) similar to that of hand A².¹²

II

1. Any interval from a few weeks up to several decades may separate the First Version of the *Discourse* from the Third. The Third Version may have been undertaken when Cabasilas was preparing a new edition of several of his works. This is only a guess. All we can say is that fifty years or less passed between the composition of the *Discourse's* Earliest Stage and Cabasilas' death.¹³ About another fifty years separate that event from *Parisinus Gr. 1213* and *Suppl. Gr. 681*, until recently the earliest known manuscripts of the *Discourse*. With the help of *Parisinus Gr. 1276* we can reliably place three consecutive versions of the *Discourse* within less than a century after its composition. This makes one wonder about the hidden history of texts preserved in manuscripts much later than the date at which these texts were composed.¹⁴

The study of *Parisinus Gr. 1276* also shows how difficult it is to assign a precise date to Byzantine rhetorical works and to connect them with concrete historical events. When editing the *Discourse*, I treated it as a uniform text and I tentatively proposed 1344 as the date of its composition. The watermarks seem to indicate that the pages of the *Parisinus* comprising the First Version of the *Discourse* were written within the last thirty years of the fourteenth century.¹⁵ This does not necessarily mean that this version was *composed* within that period, although it may have been. But it does mean that the *Discourse*

¹² In addition, Father V. Laurent, "Un nouveau témoin de la correspondance de Démétrius Cydonès et de l'activité littéraire de Nicolas Cabasilas Chamaétos . . .," **Ελληνικά*, IX (1936), 199f., has suggested that parts of *Meteor. Barlaam 202* which contain Cabasilas' correspondence may be an autograph (for a specimen, cf. fig. 14). He considers these parts similar to the portions of *Panaghias 157* said to be autographs. While this may be so, the difference between the careful handwriting of the *Meteor. Barlaam 202* and the scribblings of hand A² of *Parisinus Gr. 1276* is too great to allow any conclusions to be drawn. I wish to thank the Rev. M. Richard and Mme. E. Zizicas of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Paris) for their assistance and permission to reproduce figures 12 and 14.

¹³ Born about 1320, Cabasilas was still alive in 1391; see *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), 85–87 and notes 19 and 27.

¹⁴ This is *not* to say that we cannot study the reworkings undertaken by ancient authors. The problem has been dealt with extensively by H. Emonds (who states in *Zweite Auflage im Altertum* [1947], p. 9, that the best opportunity for the study of second editions is provided by cases where little time separates the author's work from the date of the earliest preserved manuscripts); and elegantly by C. Hoeg ("Notes sur l'histoire du livre grec," *Studi e Testi*, CXXIV [1946], esp. 5–12). But in the case of ancient authors, second editions must be reconstructed; in that of Cabasilas, several versions may be directly observed.—We know that other fourteenth-century authors reedited their works. Cf. J. Meyendorff, "Les débuts de la querelle hésychaste," *Byzantion*, XXIII (1953), 105, note 4 (on changes which Barlaam made in the text of his treatises *Against the Latins* and on two preserved versions of his *Prayer*); also, R. Browning, "David Dishypatos' Poem on Akindynos," *Byzantion*, XXV–XXVII (1955–57), 742–745 (on various versions of Dishypatos' *Explanation of the errors of Barlaam and Acindynus*).

¹⁵ See note 8 *supra*.

was *revised* within these years. Like the *Discourse*, some texts which we now consider uniform may be the result of reworkings, and may even be dim and confused reflections of several sets of historical circumstances.

The fact that Cabasilas revised and amplified the *Discourse* within the last thirty years of the fourteenth century strengthens my contention that this work does not refer to the Zealots at all. The issues raised in the *Discourse* must have been alive when these extensive revisions were made, and the Zealots were a thing of the past by the seventies of the fourteenth century. But my dating of the *Discourse* must remain a mere suggestion. I continue to believe that the *Discourse* is concerned with, among other things, the secularization measures undertaken by the imperial government for defense purposes. Within this interpretation, a later date for the *Discourse* is also possible.¹⁶ Cabasilas may have reacted to governmental actions that affected monastic properties after the battle of Maritza (1371).¹⁷

2. Our *stemma* remains unchanged whether we assign the first three versions of the *Discourse* to the fourteenth century and ascribe the editorial corrections to Cabasilas, or make a later irreverent editor responsible for the far-reaching changes in the text of the *Discourse*. But the choice between these two solutions will affect the edition of Cabasilas' text. If all the editorial changes are his own, then we should edit the Final Version; if they are not, we should edit the First or the Second. As I ascribe the changes to Cabasilas, I consider my edition essentially correct, for it is based on the Final Version of the *Discourse*. However, the versions contained in *Parisinus Gr. 1276* help to improve the text in a few instances (I am also including here the corrections of typographical errors in my edition): 6,17 read δὲ οὔτε; 13,2 read δεδωκότων; 18,10 read ἀποπώτατόν; 20,26 read τεθνάναι; 22,8 read φησιν; 22,12 read μὲν γάρ; 25,5 read φροντίσι; 30,16 place the comma after θεόν; 38,4 read τούτων κλασάντων οὔτε ἐκείνων πατουμένων; 38,21 read εἰσπράττεις τούτους κάκείνους 39,13 read ὁριζομένων ἐδείκνυς; 40,18 read πάντα παραλιπόντας; 41,1 read ἵερέων; 41,17/18 read ἵνα μάθης, τοῦτο μέν; 48,5 place the comma after κακηγορίας; 49,12 read τοῦτ' ἔστιν; 50,6 no punctuation after πονηριῶν; 50,11 read ἐβεβαιώθη; 51,9 read ω; 55,3 read ἵερέας; 55,5 read αὐτῶν. Some other readings of the earlier versions deserve consideration:

¹⁶ After this was written, I received an interesting article by E. Werner, "Volkstümliche Häretiker oder sozialpolitische Reformer? Probleme der revolutionären Volksbewegung in Thessalonike 1342–1349," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig*, VIII (1958–59), Gesellschafts- und Sprachwiss. Reihe, Heft I, pp. 45–83. There the author takes the opposite view. On page 57, note 117, he seems to agree with my previous dating of the *Discourse* (1344), but on page 46, note 8, and *passim* he disagrees with my conviction that this text is not concerned with the Zealots. Only general considerations are adduced by way of refutation, one of which reads: "We are able to do justice to the Zealot commune only if we start from the class structure (*Klassenanlage*)."
I had thought that the perusal of the full text of the *Discourse* would be sufficiently convincing in itself. I hope now that general agreement will be reached at least on one point: some parts of the *Discourse*—those added in its later versions—are not concerned with the Zealots. For my part, I continue to maintain that the whole *Discourse* is unrelated to the Zealot problem. Rather than to confine ourselves to Cabasilas, it would be more useful to turn to other texts, as yet unexplored, which reveal the social discontent in the mid-fourteenth century. I have in mind Alexios Makrembolites' *Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor*. Cf. my edition of this text in *Srpska Akademija Nauka, Zbornik radova*, LXV, Vizantološki Institut, VI (1960), 187–228.

¹⁷ On government measures after 1371, see *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, II (1957), 159.

see collation below *ad 1,9; 8,4; 15,4; 16,17; 20,1; 28,13; 41,6; 41,12; 45,12; 47,14/15; 48,19; 49,10; 58,7*. I was interested, but not elated, to note that only one of my four conjectures (in *Discourse*, 38,21) was confirmed by the First Version.

3. How did Cabasilas work on his text? Much as would any other writer who was revising his work with great care. The changes leading to the Second Version are plentiful and substantial, those leading from the Second to the Third (as reflected in the Final) are less extensive, mainly stylistic and grammatical. This tapering off of corrections is what we would expect from any author. What is surprising for a Byzantine is that in his editorial changes Cabasilas strives for clarity and precision, as well as for amplification. Sometimes he even cuts out deadwood, although, like most writers, he adds more than he subtracts.

On the whole, the purpose of additions, whether of words or of whole passages, is to give more stress to arguments of the previous version. Such is the function of the added statement 21,5/10 (the adversaries must misuse the alienated property, not because they want to do so, but because they cannot do otherwise). The addition 27,7—28,15 adduces scriptural parallels to the adversary's evil-doings. Sometimes one addition leads to another: 28,4/6 repeats the thought of the added passage 21,5/10 (the adversaries' efforts are in vain); 29,2/4 is a development referring to the first part of the added passage 27,7—28,15.

A new argument appears only in the insertion extending from 41,23 to the end of 49.¹⁸ This most considerable of the additions to the First Version accuses the metropolitan of exacting contributions from his "subjects," including the monasteries, whereas he should have been satisfied with voluntary gifts. This argument is illustrated by the most colorful passage of the *Discourse*, the description of the monks' hatred towards their bishop. Otherwise, the insertion is among the less precise parts of the *Discourse*.

By introducing a new argument, the insertion disrupted the reasoning of the original text. In the First Version, where 41,23 was followed directly by 50,1, the "long custom" (50,1/2) referred to the metropolitan's habit of violating the autonomy of his bishops (cf. 30—41); in the Second Version, this "custom" refers to his practice of collecting taxes from the faithful and the monks (42—40). Accordingly, I interpreted the "custom" as that of receiving the κανονικόν. This may yet be what Cabasilas meant in the Second Version, but in the First he did not touch upon this subject at all.

The smaller additions are not always mere variations, repetitions, and amplifications; on occasion, they contain new and specific information. One instance is the passage which corresponds to 4,1/11. The earliest Stage describes the recipients of donations only as "holy men, residing in sacred precincts" (cf. p. 183 *supra* and collation *infra ad 3,9*); the First Version of the same

¹⁸ The text written by hand A^b comprises 41, 23 to 50,7. But 50,1/7 appears twice: once at the bottom of fol. 82v (by hand A, cf. fig. 6), where it is crossed out, and again at the bottom of fol. 86v, i.e. at the end of the insertion (cf. fig. 9).

passage speaks expressly of monasteries and monks, and adds some information on the despoilers of monks: they take the revenue away from them. The Second Version inserts a rather important further detail, that the despoilers take the revenue partly for their own use and partly for that of others. This detail, combined with other words added in the First Version led me to assume that the expropriations may have occurred for the benefit of *pronoia* holders.

Another instance is 21,17/26, rewritten in the Second Version. Although this new version of the passage primarily amplifies the thought that the adversary's actions bring about the ruin of his own soul, it is also more specific: it identifies monasteries as victims of the adversary's confiscations.

Even purely stylistic additions (whether to the First Version or the Second) are sometimes made for the sake of clarity and explicitness: thus in 2,14 and 23,7 Cabasilas inserts αὐτούς, in 16,19 τοῖς πράγμασιν, in 41,7 τὸν Χριστόν and in 41,8 δεσπότης (= Christ); in 43,1 δεικνύειν is added to make the passage more explicit; the same consideration accounts for the added τοῖς in 46,14, for the change of ἔκεινον into αὐτόν in 48,18 and for the insertion of μᾶλλον in 49,6. Only a few corrections make the text more vague: for example in 56,4 the change (between the First and the Second Versions) of ἐπίσκοπον into ἵερα, in 39,5 the change of μητροπόλεως into πόλεως (Second to Final Version) and in 41,8 the omission of ἐπίσκοπος from the Final, if not the Third, Version (by virtue of this omission "everybody," not "every bishop," becomes an imitator of Christ).

In many cases it is possible to give the reasons for Cabasilas' stylistic improvements. Thus in 2,7 δεομένοις (First Version) was changed into βουλομένοις (Second), to bring out the opposition to μὴ βουλομένοις in 2,8; the reworking in 22,9 (Second to Final Version) made the whole clause dependent on ἡγοῦ (22,6); the change of ἡγουμένην into ἐπομένην (23,23) was required by logic; εὐλαβουμένων was changed into -νους (44,3), and εἱργασμένος into -νον (36,10) to improve the sentence structure; ὑμᾶς (57,7) was omitted after the Second Version for the sake of conformity (the preceding passage uses the second person singular).

Usually, changes in grammar and spelling demand no explanation. They include corrections of false accents and misspellings, the latter often caused by itacism; itacism, too, is the cause for numerous changes of indicative to optative or conjunctive and of optative to conjunctive or future forms. Striving for elegance explains changes like that of εἰ into ἀν (20,9) and of a perfect without augment to one with augment (22,16). On occasion, the motive for changes remains unclear, as when one optative form is substituted for another (1,6), an aorist infinitive is changed into *inf. praes.* (17,7; 35,18), or a future infinitive into *inf. aor.* (20,1). Some changes in word order seem to have been made to conform with "Meyer's Law" (e.g., 3,8; 10,3; 16,35); I was not able to discern the reason for others. Some of the numerous deletions of words or groups of words (either in the Second Version or the Third) were made to achieve pregnancy (50,15) or to correct nonsense (59,1); in other instances

meaningless words were eliminated (*οἴμαι*, 20,16), or redundant nouns or verbs struck out (23,18; 33/34; 32,17).

3. The following is a collation of the *Discourse* in *Parisinus Gr. 1276* with my edition published in these *Papers*:¹⁹

Titulus: Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἔξουσίαις Α^x

1,1 λύουσι supra versum A² 1,2 νόμους καὶ] νόμους πατοῦσι καὶ A: vocabulum πατοῦσι expunxit A² 1,6 ὑπόθειτο] ὑπόθειτο A 1,8 πλημμελοῦσιν] πλημμελοῦσι A P: -σιν P¹ 1,9 αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν A 1,12 Σολομῶντος] σοφοῦ A: quod vocabulum expunxit et σολομῶντος supra versum scripsit A²

2,7 βουλομένοις] δεομένοις A: δεο- expunxit et βουλο- supra versum scripsit A² 2,12 ἀκούσωνται] ἀκούσονται A P 2,14 αὐτούς supra versum A² 2,15 καὶ βάραθρον—προσδοκᾶν PA^x (A²?)^{mg}: ἔκδέχεται A, quod vocabulum expunxit A^x(A²?)

3,2 πάντ' ἀν βούλοιντο] πάντα βούλοιντ' ἀν A 3,4 διδάσκει]-οι A fortasse recte 3,5 χαλεπαίνουσιν in rasura A 3,8 τῶν ψήφων τοῖς δικασταῖς] τοῖς δικασταῖς τῶν ψήφων A: supra τ. δ. litteram β, supra τ. ψ. litteram α superscripsit A² 3,9 πεπραγμένον ἐπανορθώσειν] εἰργασμένον ἐπανορθῶσαι A, in quo haec verba expuncta sequuntur: ναούς τινες ἀνέστησαν καὶ ἀγρούς αὐτοῖς ἀνέθηκαν· καὶ οἰκίας· καὶ πλέθρα γῆς, καὶ ἄλση, καὶ παραδείσους. καὶ τοιαῦτά τινα· καὶ τούτων ἐκέλευσαν ἀπολαύειν τῶν Ἱερῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ τοῖς τεμένεσι προσεδρεύουσι καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα τελοῦσι· καὶ ταῦτα γράψαντες ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἀπῆλθον· δῆλον τοίνυν, ὅτι καθάπερ τῶν ὡνησαμένων ἥσαν ἐκεῖνα, τὸν ἵσον τρόπον καὶ τούτων, οἵ εδοσαν· οὐ γαρ ἀν διαφέροι, οὕτως ἡ ἐκείνως κτήσασθαι· ἀλλ' ἔστιν δμοίς^{ως} δεσπότης τῶν ἀγρῶν, ὃ τε τάργυριον καταβαλών, καὶ ὁ παρ<ά> (cf. 4,9–11).

4,2/3 τοὺς μοναχούς] τοῖς φροντισταῖς A 4,3 χρησάμενοι] κτησάμενοι A 4,3 τὴν ἀρχήν PA: τηναρχήν A² 4,3 ἀφαιρούμενοι — 4 χρῆσθαι P A² e corr. et supra versum: ἀφαιροῦνται A 4,9 διαθήκαις] ταῖς δ. A

5,7 κέρδος P A² e corr.: χρέος A 5,7 ἀναβάλλονται] ἀναβάλλωνται A 5,8 τοιαῦτα] τὰ τ. A

6,5 καὶ τοιούτους ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι] τοιούτους εἶναι χρή A: voc. χρή expunxit A² 6,7 αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν A 6,7 γάρ supra versum A² 6,14 μικρά] τὰ μικρά A 6,17 δέ] δέ A P recte 6,18 ἀπολειφθέντων] περιλειφθέντων A 6,18/19 ἀναθεμένων ἐξ ἀρχῆς] ἐξ ἀ. ἀναθ. A 6,19 ἀπῆδον] ἀπάδον A P 6,20 ἡμῖν] ἡμῶν A 6,22 μοναχῶν] μονῶν A? 6,28 σκοποῖ] σκοπεῖ A

7,1 οἰκείων] ἴδιων A

8,3 κοινόν supra versum A 8,4 ὠφελήσοντες] ὠφελήσοντας APS 8,11 παρέχουσι] παρέ A: -χουσι add. A⁴ 8,11 δ, τι P A² e corr.: εἴ τι A

10,1/2 τοῖς ἀρχουσιν ἀνακεῖσθαι δεῖ] ἀνακ. δεῖ τ. ἀρχ. A 10,3 προίστασθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ] τῆς αὐτοῦ προίστασθαι A: supra τ. αὐ. litteram β, supra προιστ. litteram α superscripsit A² 10,4 κατορύξαι] κατορρύξαι A 10,6 ἀρχουσιν] ἀγουσι A

¹⁹ Numbers refer to paragraph and line of my edition. A = scribe of the main text of the First Version; A¹ denotes corrections surely attributable to this scribe; A² = author of most corrections and additions in the text written by A; A³ ... A^x = hands of other correctors of this text. A^b = scribe of the insertion; A^{b1} = corrections by this scribe; A^{b2} = corrector of the text written by A^b; A^c = copyist of a few lines of the *Discourse* at the beginning of fol. 87v; P = *Parisinus Gr. 1213*; S = *Suppl. Gr. 681*.

10,7 τούτων] τῶν τοιούτων A **10,17** ἦ] supra versum A³ **10,17** νόμος ἔστιν]
νόμος ἔστι A²(A³?)^{mg} **10,18** αὐτοῖς] αὐτούς A

11,1 φησι] φησιν A **11,1** ἐκβάλλω P A² ex corr.: ἐκβάλλομεν A **11,2** τεθνᾶσι]
τεθνᾶσι A **11,12** ἐκείνων] ἐκείνων ἔστιν A **11,13** πρότερον γενέσθαι τοῖς χρόνοις]
γενέσθαι πρότερον χρόνοις A

12,1 δεσπότας αὐτούς φησι] φ. δ. αὐ. A **12,5** καὶ¹ om. A **12,7** δεικνύναι]
δεικνῦναι A P **12,9** μήτε τῶν] μήτε τινα τῶν A

13,2 δεδοκότων] δεδωκότων A P recte **13,10** δεῖ supra versum A¹ **13,14**
συγχαίρεις] συγχωρεῖς A

14,1 φησιν] φησι A **14,1** ἐκείνοις] ἐκείνους A **14,7** εἶναι supra versum A²
14,10 ἔαυτοῦ] αὐτοῦ A

15,4 αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν A

16,6 μέλει A² e corr.: μέλλει A **16,14/15** οὔτε ἀμείβουσιν] οὔτ' ἀμείβουσιν
A **16,16** δεικνῦναι] δεικνῦναι A P **16,17** οἰκονομοῦσιν] οἰκονομοῦσι A **16,17**
αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν A **16,19** ὑπὸ P A² e corr.: ἀπό A **16,19** τοῖς πράγμασιν supra
versum A² **16,21** βλάπτοι] βλάπτει A **16,23** δοκοῖ] δοκεῖ A **16,29** συνενέγκη]
συνενέγκοι A **16,35** ὅν ἔλαβεν οἱ νόμοι φασί] οἱ νόμ. φασὶ ὅν ἔλαβ. A: supra οἱ
v. φ. litteram β, supra ὅν ε. litteram α posuit A² **16,35** τοῦ λαβεῖν] τῶν A
16,38 ἦ²] καὶ A **16,44** προσίασι] προσιᾶσι A?

17,2 συνενέγκη] συνενέγκοι A **17,6** χωρίς] καὶ χωρίς A **17,7** χρῆσθαι]
χρήσασθαι A **17,7** ἐγκλήματα] ἐγκλήματα γένοιτ' ἄν A

18,1 ἐν] πρᾶγμα ἐν A **18,6** δείξοι] δείξει A **18,9** οὐδέν] οὐδένα A **18,10**
ἀποπότατόν] ἀποπότατόν A P recte **18,15** προύβάλετο] προυβάλλετο A

19,1 ἔδίδαξεν οὐδείς] ἥ φύσις ἔδίδαξεν A **19,6** ἡδίκησας] ἡδίκηκας A **19,7** καὶ
ἀνδράποδον] καὶ γάρ καὶ ἀνδράποδον A **19,7** ἐκεῖνα] εἰς ἐ. A

20,1 οὐκοῦν] οὐκουν APS **20,1** χρήσασθαι] χρήσεσθαι A **20,9** ἄν] εἰ A
20,14 ἔξελέγχῃ] ἔξελέγχει A **20,16** δείξουσιν] οἷμαι δείξουσιν A: voc. ol. expunxit
A² **20,25** εἰ δέ] εἰδ' A **20,26** τεθνᾶναι] τεθνᾶναι A recte **20,27** ταῦτ'] τοιαῦτ' A

21,5 κελεύει] κελεύοι A **21,5** ἔστι — ΙΟ βούλωνται in margine superiore A²
21,11 τοῦ συμφέροντος τυγχάνειν in rasura A² **21,11** οὐδ' εἴ τις] δ' εἴ τις in
rasura A² **21,11** κοινὸν ὠφελεῖ in rasura A² **21,13** αὐτοῦ P A: ἔαυτοῦ e corr.
A²? **21,14** τῶν¹ e corr. A¹ **21,17** ὅταν καὶ — 26 δητῶν in margine in-
feriore add. A²: τοῦ μὲν τείχους καὶ τῆς νίκης καὶ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδαμῶς· εἴ γε
δυνήσῃ πρὸς τοιαῦτα χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἀφηρημένοις· ὅν δὲ σαυτὸν εἰργάσω, καὶ πάνυ·
ἄγάρ τὴν πόλιν ἀνέστησας ἀναλώσας, ταῦτ' ἐκτήσω, τοὺς νόμους ἡδίκηκώς A, cuius
verba expunxit A² **21,17** δυνηθῆ] δυνηθῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ παρανομεῖν vocabulis
ἄ. τ. π. expunctis A² **21,24** κατ' om. A² **21,26** οὐκοῦν add. A²: καὶ A?

22,3 εἰ] ὅτι A **22,5** τό] τί A **22,8** φησι] φησιν A P recte **22,9** οὐδὲν —
δίκας] ὑποσχεῖν τὰς ἀξίας δίκας οὐδὲν κωλύει A **22,10/11** ἡμῖν καλλίους] κ. ἡ. A
22,12 μέν] μὲν γάρ AS recte **22,16** ἀπεστέρηνται] ἀποστέρηνται A **22,27**
διοίως supra versum A¹ **22,28** τοῖς supra versum A² **22,29** φόνον] τὸν
φόνον A **22,34** γενέσθαι in margine A² (A³?) **22,35** τὰ δὲ εἰς] τὰ δ' εἰς A
22,35 καὶ τὸν θεόν om. A

23,3 καὶ κλοπάς] καὶ τὰλλα κλοπάς vocabulo τὰλλα expuncto A **23,4** τὰς ἄλλας
P A² e corr.: τὰλλα A **23,4** πονηρῶν A² e corr.: πονηρῶν A **23,5** καὶ οὐδεὶς

ἀντερεῖ om. A 23,7 αὐτούς om. A: αὐτούς et aliud vocabulum expunctum (δύνασθαι?) supra versum A² 23,7 δυνηθῆναι om. A 23,13 δοκεῖν] ταῦτα δοκεῖν A 23,18 τοιχωρύχοις] τοιχωρύχοις καὶ λωποδύταις A 23,23 ἐπομένην] ἡγουμένην A 23,25 ζημιοῖ] ἵνα σώσῃ, ζημιοῖ A 23,33/34 ἐπαοιδόν] ἐπαοιδὸν καὶ μῖμον A

25,5 φροντίσιν] -σι A S recte 25,11 σπουδήν] τὴν σπουδήν A 25,15 προεδρίᾳ] προεδρεία A

26,11 τίς δημιουργός τίς γεωργός] τ. γ. τ. δ. A 26,13 τακτικά] τὰ τακτ. A fortasse recte 26,14 κρατούστης] κρατούστης καὶ οὕτω δυστυχῶν ἀθλιώτατος ὅρξεις A

27,2 τι erasit V*? 27,7 ἀκούεις — 28,15 παρέλθωσιν in marginibus inferioribus foll. 75^v et 76^r add. A² 27,10/11 ἢ τῶν] ἢ κατὰ τῶν vocabulo κ. ex-puncto A² 27,11 ἐπαινέσει] στεφανώσει A² 27,12 μαίνεται] μαίνοιτο quod in μαίνεται mutavit A² 27,15 μαστίξας] μαστίζων quod in μαστίξας mutavit A² 27,16 ἀποκεῖσθαι] κείσθαι A² 27,19 οὕτω καλῶν] λέγων οὕτω καλῶν vocabulo λ. expuncto A²

28,1 Ἐστι τοίνυν] post ἐ. τ. vocabulum quoddam (οὕτως?) expunctum in A² 28,1 μισούμενον] μούμενον A²? 28,1/2 τῶν αὐτῶν — 3 ἔνεκα] ἢ τῶν ἰδίων ἢ τῶν κοινῶν ἔνεκα τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων πραγμάτων, δι' ἄ A², qui postea litteram β vocabulis ἢ τῶν ἰδίων, litteram α vocabulis τῶν αὐτῶν suprascriptis, vocabula ἢ τῶν κοινῶν ἔνεκα expunxit eorumque loco ἔνεκα supra versum posuit 28,3 τοὺς δὲ πλεονέκτας] haec legi non possunt in A² 28,8 ταῦτα] ταῦτ' A² 28,8 διαπεσεῖν P A² e corr.: διαφυγεῖν A² 28,9 οὐδέ] οὐδ' A² 28,9 τῆς ἀληθείας προρρήσεις] προρρήσεις τῆς ἀληθείας A² qui postea supra προρρήσεις vocabula τῆς ἀληθείας posuit et τ. ἄ. in versu sequenti expunxit 28,10 διὰ τὴν ἀδικίαν — 12 ἀρχοντα] ἀμείνονος τυχεῖν τῆς ζωῆς ἢ μακροτέρας διὰ τὴν ἀδικίαν καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν οὐκ ἰδιώτην μόνον ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀρχοντα A², qui postea litteram β vocabulis ἀμείνονος τυχεῖν, litteram α vocabulo πλεονεξίαν, litteram γ vocabulis οὐκ ἰδιώτην superscriptsit et vocabulum διὰ expunxit 28,13 οὐκ ἔθνος] οὐδ' ἔθνος A² 28,18 καὶ δν] ᾧ A 28,19 ἱεροσυλίᾳ] ἱεροσυλία καὶ ἀδικία A 28,20 ἀσύνετος] ἀνόητος A 28,20 ἀνόητος] ἀσύνετος A

29,2 οὖς — 4 κατελθεῖν in margine A² (A¹?) 29,4 μετά] μετ' A² 29,8 οὐ κατέδυς] οὐκ ἀν κατέδυς A 29,11 ἐκεῖνος] ἐκεῖνοι A 29,15 πολλῷ γε χείρω] πολλῷ χείρω ταυτί A: voc. ταυτί expunxit A² 29,14 τοῦ om. A 29,16 ἡτίμωκας] ἡτίμωκας καὶ οἵει μηδὲν εἰργάσθαι δεινόν A: vocabula καὶ—δεινόν expunxit A² 29,18 θεοῦ τε] καὶ θεοῦ A 29,20 δέ supra versum A² 29,25 σκωλήκων τὸ σῶμα] τὸ σῶμα σκωλήκων A

30,5 δικαιοσύνης] διοικήσεως A 30,12 μηδέν] οὐδέν A 30,16 ποιῶν τὸν θεόν] τὸν θεόν ποιῶν A 30,22 κάν] καὶ A 30,30 παραστήσηται] ἔλοι quod vocabulum expunxit et παραστήσηται in margine adiecit A¹ 30,36 ἐποίησεν] ἐποίει A 30,37 ὅφελος] ὅφ. ὃν A 30,40 γνώμαις P A² e corr.: νόμοις A 30,42 ταύτην in rasura A¹ (A²?) 30,45 καταλείπετε] -λει- in rasura A¹ (A²?) 30,45 ὀπονοίας καὶ θράσους] θράσους ἢ ὀπονοίας A 30,47 νοσῆσ] νοσεῖς A

31,8 πάντα supra versum A² 31,9 τουτωνί om. A 31,12 εἰχεν] εἰχε A 31,15 πάντα supra versum A² 31,18 νομίζει] νομίζοι A 31,23 ἀν εἴη] δεῖ A

32,3 ἔαυτῷ] αὐτῷ A **32,4** τὸν ἱωάννου] ἱωάννου τόν A **32,15** χρυσοῦ] τοῦ χρ. A **32,17** νομίζειν] τολμῆσαι νομίζειν A **32,19** σεμνόν] σ. ἀν A **32,21** ἐκεῖθεν] ἐκεῖθεν ἀν A **32,25** ἐκάστου] τὰς ἑκ. A **32,26** καὶ τούτῳ — **33,2** παρανομεῖν] καὶ τούτῳ — **32,30** φησιν in margine inferiore A, quibus **33,1** ἀλλά — 2 παρανομεῖν in margine inferiore addidit A² **32,28** καὶ νόμων ἐμέλησεν ἐκάστοτε] ἐκάστοτε καὶ νόμων ἐμέλησε A

33,5 φασιν] φησιν A **33,8** ρῖψαι] ρίψαι APS **33,12/13** post θορυβήσης in spatio 10 litterarum lineam habet A

34,5 τοῦτον e corr. A¹ (εἰ in τ mutato) **34,16** ἀλλ' οἴκονομεῖν] ἀλλ' οἱ- in rasura A^x (A²?) **34,17** ἀνδρῶν in margine A **34,17** ἐγγράψαιο] γράψαιο A **34,22** δέ] δ' A **34,24** καλέσης P A² e corr.: καλέσαι τολμήσης A **34,25** βοῶσι] βοῶσι καὶ οὐκ ἀν ἀρνηθείης A: καὶ—ἀρνηθείης expunxit A² **34,30** ἡ πόλις βλάβους ἥ ὠφελείας] βλ. ἥ ὠφ. ἥ πόλ. A

35,3 οὐκ] ὡς οὐκ A **35,5** τῆς αὐτῆς in marginibus addidit A¹ **35,11** λάβης] λάβοις A **35,18/19** ἀνέχεσθαι] ἀνασχέσθαι A **35,20** καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλιν δλόκληρον] κ. π. δ. κ. χ. A: supra π. δ. litteram β, supra κ. χ. litteram α posuit A² **35,22** τις] τίς ἀν A

36,1 εἶναι νόμους] νόμους εἶναι A **36,6/7** νόμους τολμήσει] τ. ν. A **36,7** εἰπεῖν] εἰ- in rasura A **36,10** εἰργασμένον] εἰργασμένος A

37,4/5 εἰσπράττωνται] -ονται A: -ωνται e corr. A¹ **37,5** διαλέγωνται] -ονται A: -ωνται e corr. A¹ **37,6** ἀναλίσκωσι] -ουσι A: -ωσι e corr. A¹ **37,11** post δόξαν in spatio 5 litterarum lineam habet A **37,15** προεδρίαν] -είαν A

38,4 τούτων πατουμένων] τούτων κλαστῶν οὔτε ἐκείνων πατουμένων A (κλαστῶν e corr. A¹) recte **38,11** γρίφον] γρίφον A: γρύφον e corr. A^x **38,16** post εἰ reliquum lineae spatium vacuum in A **38,17** ἀν] ἀν ὑμῖν A **38,19** δικάλης] δικάλεις A: -ζης e corr. A¹ **38,21** κάκείνους] τούτους κάκείνους A recte **38,22** λάβης] λάβοις A **38,27** ζῆν] ζῆν, ὁ παῦλος φησίν A: ὁ—φησίν expunxit A² **38,28** ἀοίκους] ἀοίκους, τοὺς ἀσκείνους A **38,31** σημαίνοι] σημάνοι A **38,38** οὐδὲν κοινόν] κοινὸν οὐδέν A

39,5 πόλεως] μητροπόλεως A **39,5** τὰς ἀποίκους in margine add. A^x **39,6** πόλεις] τὰς πόλεις A: τὰς erasit A^x (A¹?) **39,7** ὁμοφύλους] διμοτίμους A **39,9** εἴθ' P A¹ e corr.: εἴτε A **39,10** αἵτιαν PA² supra versum] γραφήν A quod expunxit A² **39,13** τῶν νόμῳ ἐδείκνυς ὅριζομένων] ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ὅριζομένων ἐδείκνυς A: τῶν νόμῳ ὅριζομένων ἐδείκνυς S recte

40,4 τὴν πόλιν] τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν: post τὴν in spatio 5 litterarum lineam habet S **40,5** ὑπῆρξεν] ὑπῆρξε A **40,12** αὐτούς ιδεῖν] λαβεῖν A **40,18** παραλιπόντας] πάντα παραλιπόντας A recte **40,26/27** μὲν πέμπειν] μέν om. A sed post πέμπειν supra versum add. A² **40,27** δ' οὐδέν] δε αὐτὸς οὐδέν A

41,1 τοὺς εὐηθεστέρους τῶν ἱερέων] τῶν ἱ. τοὺς εὐ. A **41,6** ἀπέχεται] ἀπέχονται A **41,7** εἰδῆς] ιδῆς A **41,7** σκέψαι] αὐτὸ σκέψαι A **41,7** τὸν Χριστόν om. A **41,8** πᾶς] πᾶς ἐπίσκοπος A **41,8** οὐ δεσπότης καὶ om. A **41,9** ἔγχειρίζης] -ζεις A: -ζης e corr. A¹ **41,12** ὄντων] ἔνδον A fortasse recte **41,12** τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῖς] αὐτοὶ τὴν οἰκίαν A **41,14** καὶ γάρ] καὶ γάρ καὶ A **41,15/16** ὁ νόμος ὑμᾶς] ὑμᾶς ὁ νόμος A **41,16** θυρῶν] προθύρων A **41,17/18** τοῦτο μὲν οὐνα μάθης τ. μέν A recte **41,23** post δανείζοντες **50,1** ναί — 7 τολμη- A (**50,4** τούς] τοὺς

τῶν A 50,7 παρά] καὶ παρά A): 50,1 ναὶ—χθές quae versum unum constituant erasit, 50,2 καὶ πρώην—7 τολμη- expunxit A² 41,23 οὔτε] hic incipit manus A^b

42,2 βουλομένοις] -νους A^b 42,12 δύλα] ἀθλα A^b 42,13 μη χανωμένοις] -νησαμενοις A^b

43,1 δεικνύειν] om. A^b 43,7 ἐκβάλῃ] ἐκβάλῃ A^b 43,9 περιβαλέσθαι] περιβαλλέσθαι A^b 43,12 αὐτῶν P A^b: αὐτῶν e corr. A^{bz}? 43,20 πράσσοντες] πράττοντες A^b

44,3 εὐλαβουμένους] εὐλαβουμένων A^b 44,13 ἀνθρώπους] τοὺς ἀνθρώπους A^b 44,18 θεόν] χριστόν A^b 44,19 παρὰ ἀνθρώποις] παρ' ἀνθρώποις A^b 44,20 ὅρῶσιν] ἔρῶσι A^b

45,3 πρᾶγμα] πρᾶγμα φησίν A^b 45,12 μηδέν] μηδένα A^b fortasse recte 45,19 οὐ τι] οὐ τοι A^b 45,20 οἶον P A^{bz} e corr.: οἱ A^b

46,2 δέωνται P A^{b1} e corr.: -ονται A^b 46,6 ἢ βίας φησί] φησίν ἢ βίας A^b 46,14 τοῖς om. A^b 46,14 ὑπομένοντας] ὑπομείναντας A^b 46,15 ἀρετῆς] τῆς ἀ. A^b

47,6 τοῦτο] τοῦτ' αὐτό A^b 47,7 κερδάνης ζητεῖς] κερδάνοις σκοπεῖς A^b 47,8 ἀπαντήσῃ] ἀπαντήσει A^b 47,13 ἀναμένης] ἀναμείνης A^b 47,14/15 ἐνεχυριάζων] ἐνεχυράζων A^b fortasse recte

48,18 αὐτόν] ἐκεῖνον A^b 48,19 πρεσβύτας] πρεσβύτας καὶ νοσοῦντας A^b fortasse
β α

recte 48,28 ἀξιῶν προνοίας] προνοίας ἀξιῶν A^b

49,6 μᾶλλον om. A^b 49,10 προδείξης] προδείξοις A^b fortasse recte 49,11
ἔξεις] ἔξοις A^b 49,14 αἰδῶ] αἰδὼ A^b

50,4 τοιούτων] τῶν τ. A^b 50,7 παρά] καὶ παρά A^b 50,7 τολμη-] hic
desinit manus A^b: textus pergit in fol. 96^r

50,7 -θείσας] hic incipit denuo manus A 50,9 τότε—11 ἐβεβαιώθη in spatio
ab A vacuo relicto inseruit A¹ 50,11 ἐβεβαιώθη P A¹ e corr.: ἐβαιβ- A
50,11 τῆς—13/14 ὑπερυικᾶν in spatio ab A vacuo relicto inseruit A¹ 50,12
αὐθεντία] αὐθεντία A 50,15 οὐδέ] οὐδ' A 50,15 οἱ τύραννοι] ὥσπερ οἱ τύ-
ραννοι A

51,8 τοιοῦτον] τοιοῦτον ἄλλον A 51,9 δ] ἀ A recte 51,12 δή supra versum
add. A² 51,13 πλείους] πλείους οἷμαι A 51,16 χρυσόν] τὸν χρ. A

52,1 τοῖς] καὶ τοῖς A 52,3 τὸν ἡμαρτηκότας ἐλευθέρως] ἐλ. τ. ἡμ. A 52,5
νόμοι] λόγοι A 52,6 πρόσκομα A 52,16 δ] ἀ γε A 52,17 αὐτούς φησιν] φησίν
αὐτούς A 52,21 ἐμμεῖναι νόμοις] ν. ἐ. A 52,22 κερδάνης ὁβιολούς] ὁβιολούς κερδάνης
A: supra δ. litteram β, supra κ. litteram α posuit A² (A¹?)

53,8 Χριστόν] X. αὐτόν A 53,11 ζημιοῖ] ζημιῇ A 53,18 καὶ πρός] καὶ τὸ
πρός A 53,21 χηρῶν P A¹ e corr.: χειρῶν A

54,3 ταῦτα] ταῦτ' A 54,11 ἐντιθείς] αὐτοῖς ἐντιθείς A 54,15 γρίφους] γρύφους
A 54,17 τίνος εὐνοίας in margine add. A¹ 54,21 ὅρῶσιν] ὅρῶσι A 54,26
ἔχεις] ἔλαχες A 54,28 ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως in margine add. A² (A^x?)

55,2 φούλως—ἔχων in rasura A¹ 55,5 αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν A recte 55,5 ἔξουσίαν
in rasura A¹ 55,8 μιμῆ] μιμῆ καὶ παράδειγμα ποιῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς A: verba καὶ—ἀρχῆς
expunxit A² 55,10 τις] τις A 55,14 τις] τις A 55,16 ἀπολλύναι] ἀπολλῦναι
A 55,17 τὸ δ'] τὸ (δέ) A 55,18 τῇ om. A

56,2 τί — 3 πονηρός om. A in fine paginae homoeoteleuti causa 56,4
ιερέα P A² supra versum: ἐπίσκοπον A quod vocabulum expunxit A² 56,13
έαυτοῖς] αὐτοῖς A 56,17 τοσοῦτον] -σοῦτο A 56,22 τις] τις A 56,23 κερδάναι]
κερδάναι A

57,4 τοῦ om. A 57,7 ἔροιτο] ύμᾶς ἔροιτο A 57,11 ύμῖν P A¹: ὑμῖν A
58,6 ἐκβάλλουσιν] ἐκβάλλουσι A 58,7 ἄγειν] ἀγαγεῖν A fortasse recte

59,1 ἀδικεῖς] οὐκ ἀδικεῖς A (fortasse A^x: οὖν ἀδικεῖς A?) 59,1/2 βοῶσι καὶ τὰ
πράγματα] μέγα βοῶσι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα A 59,17 σοφοῖ] textus pergit in
fol. 87^r 59,21 ἐπιτρέψῃς] ἐπιτρέψεις A 59,22 ἐπισφαλεῖς] ἐπισφαλεῖς αἱ ἐπίνοιαι
αὐτῶν A: vocabula αἱ—αὐτῶν expunxit A²

60,2 εἴπης] εἴποις A 60,3 εἰς μέσον ἐνεγκόντα] ἐνεγκόντα εἰς μέσον A: supra ἐνεγ-
litteram β, supra εἰς μ. litteram α posuit A² 60,8 τῷ—ἀμήν add. A^x (A¹?)
60,8 δὲ om. A^x (A¹?)

1,1 τούς — 4 σωφρονεῖν] hoc fragmentum manus A^c praebet in fol. 87^v 1,1/2
λύουσι νόμους λύουσι A^c 1,4 πείσειε] ποίσειε A^c

III

I. Folio 99 of *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, the highest numbered of the *Discourse*, is followed by a *binio* (fols. 100—103). Only fols. 100^r—101^v of this *binio* are covered with writing by a hand similar to A and contemporary with it (see fig. II).²⁰ They contain a curious fragment, starting in the middle of a sentence.

²⁰ According to Professor Irigoin (see note 8 *supra*), the watermark of fols. 100—103 is a battle-axe = Briquet no. 7505 (date: 1378). Similar watermarks are attested from 1354 on, cf. Mošin-Traljić, *Vodeni znakovi...*, no. 4701 ff.

Here is the text of the *Fragment*:

1 ... ὁ μὲν γάρ οἰμώξεται καὶ βοήσει, καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μεστὰς δακρύων
ἀφήσει φωνάς, καὶ κάμψει μὲν δίκην κλοιοῦ τὸν τράχηλον, σάκκον
δὲ καὶ σποδὸν ὑποστρώσει, καὶ πᾶσαν οἴσει ταλαιπωρίαν, ίν' ἐλεηθῆ,
καὶ συγγνώμην ἐπισπάσηται, καὶ τῆς εὐθύνης ἀπολυθῆ. ὁ δὲ θεὸς τί πρὸς
ταῦτα; ἀποστρέψω τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ οὐκ εἰσακούσομαι
σου καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔρει. — καὶ πόθεν δῆλον, φησίν, ὡς οἵς ὁ θεὸς οὔτω
χαλεπῶς ἀπειλεῖ, πλεονεξίαν ἐγκαλῶν ἀπειλεῖ; — ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὺς διορθούμενος
διάλυε, φησί, στραγγαλιάς βιαίων συναλλαγμάτων καὶ πᾶσαν
συγγραφὴν ἀδικον διάσπα· τί τοῦτο καλῶν βίαιον συνάλλαγμα;
ὅταν τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἐπ' ὧντὴν ἐλκωμεν ἢ πρᾶσιν μὴ βουλομένους. ὁ τοῖς
πολλοῖς δεινὸν οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἀδικία τις εἶναι δοκεῖ· ὁ δὲ θεὸς τοὺς τολμῶντας

TESTIMONIA:

2/3 *cf.* Is. 58:5.

5/6 *cf.* Is. 58:4 *et* Jer. 7:16; *cf.* Ps. 26(27):9;7.

8/9 *cf.* Is. 58:6.

VARIAE LECTIONES:

II τίς

εἰχθροὺς ἡγεῖται, καὶ ἀποστρέφειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔφη τὸ πρόσωπον, τὸ
 ἐπιτεταμένον τοῦ μίσους δηλῶν. καὶ μήν, δτι καὶ ἀμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν αἰτουμένοις
 καὶ περὶ τούτου προσπίπτουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ ὀδυρομένοις οὐ προσέχειν φησίν,
 15 ἔξ ὧν ἐπήγαγεν ἔδειξε· μεταβαλόντας γάρ ἄν τοὺς τρόπους καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν
 ρίψαντας κέρδος δεῦτε, φησί, καὶ διαλεχθῶμεν καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ὑμῶν
 λευκανῶ· ὃ γάρ μεταγνοῦσιν ἐφ' οἷς ἡδικήκασιν ἐπηγγείλατο δώσειν, τούτου
 δῆλός ἐστιν ἔτι τῆς πονηρίας ἔχομένους ἀποστερῶν. τίς οὖν ἔτι καταλείπεται
 πρόφασις τοῖς παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τοὺς νόμους χρηματίζεσθαι βουλομένοις,
 20 εἰ τῶν μὲν χρημάτων τούτων ὀφέλειαν οὐδεμίαν οὐδέστιν ἔστιν εὔρειν οὐδαμοῦ,
 Fol. 100v οἱ δ' ἀπώλειαν ἀπόλλυνται || τὴν ἐσχάτην, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' αὐτό, τὸ κακῶς
 ποιεῖν ἀνθρώπους, ὄφελος καὶ κέρδος ἥγοῦνται; δὲ μόνων εἶναι φαίην ἄν τῶν
 ἀνθρωποκτόνων δαιμόνων· οὐ γάρ ἀνθρωπίνης κακίας τοῦτό γε, προϊκά
 βούλεσθαι εἶναι πονηρόν, εἰ μὴ χρείας ἢ ἡδονῆς ἢ φύμης χάριν, ἢ τινος ἄλλου
 25 τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον χρησίμων εἶναι δοκούντων· ὡς ἄν τούτων οὐδὲν ἐλπίσῃ
 τις, οὐδὲν κωλύει πάντων ἔνεκα σωφρονεῖν. ὑπὲρ οὖν μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πλεονεξίαν
 τολμῶντες τὸ μάταιον τοῦ πράγματος καὶ τὸν ἀκολουθοῦντα θάνατον μὴ ἄν
 εἰδότες τολμᾶν, μήδ' οὐτως ἐκόντες τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὸ βάραθρον, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν
 ἀμελετήτῳ τῶν τοιούτων ἔχειν τὸ πᾶν ἀγνοεῖν, τὸ δ' ἀγνοεῖν αἴτιον αὐτοῖς
 30 εἶναι τῆς τόλμης. ταῦτ' οὖν ὑμῖν μέμψαιτ' ἄν τις δικαίως, ὡς βουλή, τοῖς τῶν
 κοινῶν ἐπιμεληταῖς, οὓς ἔδει ταῦτα καὶ σκεψαμένους αὐτοὺς ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι,
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διδάσκειν τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας, σπουδὴν εἰσάγοντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 πράγματος, στην εἰ τὸ πᾶν ἔδει τεῖχος ἀναστῆσαι καταπεσόν, ἢ τι τῶν κοινῶν
 35 ἐπανορθῶσαι καὶ ἀ περιοφθέντα μεγάλους οἵσει κινδύνους τῇ πόλει· ὑμεῖς δὲ
 καθεύδουσιν ἐοίκατε, καὶ καθάπερ ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς ὀνείρασιν ἀσχολούμενοι τῶν
 ἀληθῶς ἐπικειμένων ὑμῖν κακῶν οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθε, καὶ ἀ τοῖς κατορθοῦσιν οὐδὲν
 40 δὲ κάκιστ' || ἀπολούμένους, ὡν ἔργα τὰ κατασχόντα δεινὰ τὴν
 Fol. 101r πόλιν, δι' ὧν πᾶσαν εἰσενεγκόντες ἀδικίαν τὸν θεὸν ἐξέβαλον, οὐδ' ἡγεῖσθέ τι
 δεινὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν, οὐδ' ὄφελειν οὐδεμίαν δίκην; οὐδ' εἰ πειθοῖ μεταβάλλειν
 τὸν τρόπον, ἢ παύειν αὐτοὺς χρή καὶ τὴν φλόγα σβεννύειν, λόγου τινὸς ἄξιον

12 cf. Deut. 31:17; 18; 32:20 et al.; cf. *testim. ad 5/6.*

16/17 cf. Is. 1:17–18.

21 cf. Deut. 4:26; 8:19; 30:18; cf. Ju. 6:4.

25 ἐλπίσει τίς

33 ἢ τί

39 καταψηφίζεασθαι cod.: -ε e corr.

40 ἡγεῖσθαι cod.: -ε e corr.

42 διῶν

42 τί

43 ωφείλειν e corr.!

44 σβεννύειν

45 θυμίν ἐνομίσθη, ἀλλὰ καν τις θυμῶν μεταξύ τοιούτων μνησθῆ, καὶ ὡς δεῖ καθαίρειν τὴν νόσον ἢ πάντα ἀπώλεσεν, ὡς τι μάταιον καὶ παρέλκον τοῖς ἀναγκαῖοις ἐπεισάγων ἐπιτιμᾶται. ταῦτα νοῦν ἔχόντων; ταῦτα θεὸν εἰδότων; ταῦτα βουλομένων σώζεσθαι; καὶ τίνες ἀν ἥτε εἰ βασιλεῖ συνῆτε μὴ τιμῶντι πανταχοῦ τὸ δίκαιον· οὐ πολλάκις θυμίν ἐπετίμησε τῆς σιωπῆς, ὅτι κλαόντων πενήτων
 50 καὶ βίᾳ ὁδυρομένων, οὔτε ἐπήλθετε τοῖς βιαίοις θυμീσι οὔτε προσηγγείλατε τῷ τὰ τοιαῦτα κωλύειν καὶ βουλομένῳ καὶ δυναμένῳ; οὐ πᾶσιν ἐκέλευσε διορθοῦ-
 σθαι τῶν μὴ καλῶς πεπραγμένων ἕκαστον οἷς ἀν ἐντύχοι; τίς δὲ ὁ νοῦς τῶν ὅρκων, καὶ τί τοῦτ' ἐστί τὸ συμφέρον, ὑπέρ οὐ πάντα καὶ δράσειν καὶ ἐρεῖν
 55 δύμωμόκατε; ἢ νομίζετε τι μᾶλλον συνοίσειν θυμίν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπειδὴν ἵλεως ἢ, ἢ
 τι βλάβος ἔσεσθαι μεῖζον ὅταν ἐκπολεμωθῆ; φοβερὸν τὸ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς
 60 χεῖρας θεοῦ λῶντος· ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πρότερον, τῦν γοῦν θυμῶν αὐτῶν γένεσθε
 Fol. 101v καὶ λογίσασθε τί μὲν ὁ θεός ὁ τὰ δίκαια νομοθετῶν, τί δὲ ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων ὁ
 πείθων παρανομεῖν· καὶ ὡς ὁ μὴν τῶν ὅρκων ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων, οὐ τῶν τὴν ψυχὴν
 65 κοσμούντων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰς σῶμα φερόντων τῶν προσκαίρων τούτων
 μόνος ὧν χορηγός, καὶ οὐ διαφθείρειν ἢ δέδωκεν—οὐ γάρ εἰκός ἐστι τοῖς
 ἔργοις ἐπι || βουλεύειν αὐτὸν τοῖς αὐτοῦ—ἀλλὰ σώζειν βουλόμενος θυμίν καὶ
 70 χρήματα καὶ σώματα καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμᾶς, τὰ δίκαια κελεύει ποιεῖν· ὁ δὲ
 πονηρός, χρηστὸν οὐδὲν εἰς θυμᾶς οὐδεπώποτε εἰργασμένος—οὔτε γάρ βούλεται,
 πολέμιος ὧν ἔξαρχῆς, οὔτ' ἀν ἐδυνήθη βουληθείς, κύριος ὧν οὐδενός, ὅτι
 δοῦλός ἐστι, καὶ οὗτος δραπέτης—ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν δυτῶν παρὰ θεοῦ βασκαίνων
 θυμίν, ίνα γυμνώσῃ, τὴν ἀδικίαν εἰσάγει, ὡς πάντα ἀπολλύναι πάντων μάλιστα
 δυναμένην. καὶ τοίνυν πράττομεν ἀθλιώτατα πάντων, ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ
 τούτου δεδαπανημένοι θηρίου· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οἱ μᾶλλον εἰσεκώμασεν, οὐδὲ
 75 ἐστιν εἰπεῖν οὓς χείρον διέθηκε. ταῦτα ἐνθυμηθέντες, καὶ ὡς εἰ μὴ ταχέως τοῦτο
 πανταχόθεν ἔξελοιτε, πᾶσιν ἐμφωλεῦον καὶ λυμαινόμενον, οὐδὲν κωλύει πάντα
 οἴχεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι λοιπὸν περὶ ὧν βουλεύσεσθε, εἰς ἔργον ἥδη χωρεῖτε
 καὶ μὴ μέλλετε· ὡς οὐ ταῦτόν ἐστι, κακὸν ἀεὶ προϊὸν σήμερον καὶ αὔριον
 ἐπισχεῖν.

At the beginning of the *Fragment* the author quotes the scriptures, and objects to forcing weaker people (*τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους*) to sell and buy against their will. Yet some men <the chief adversaries> refuse to give up their ill-gotten gains; they conduct business against the precepts of Justice and Law <by forcing the weaker ones to buy and sell>. But money (*χρημάτων*) obtained in such a way

55/56 cf. Heb. 10:31.

45 θυμίν supra versum

46 μαται cod.: ματαιον e corr.

52 τις

53 ὅρκων

54 δύμωμόκακε cod.: -τε e corr.

54 ἐπειδ ἀν

63 οὐδὲ πώποτε

66 ἀπολλύναι

72 μέλετε

brings no advantage to anyone, only utter damnation to the adversaries. The author refers to these people as “daring to commit acts of greed (*πλεονεξία*).” He then addresses the Council (*βουλή*), also called Supervisors of Community (State?) Affairs (*τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμεληταῖς*). They should attend to the matter at hand since it is one of utmost gravity. Instead, they neglect it and concentrate on problems which are trifling by comparison, such as thefts and petty embezzlements. When it comes to these secondary matters, the Supervisors upbraid the Governor of the City (*πόλεως ἀρμοστήν*) for his procrastination, but they stand idly by and watch the sinister activities of the chief adversaries go unpunished. It is they who have reduced the city to its present deplorable state by introducing injustice and banishing God. If someone draws the Supervisors’ attention to this highly unhealthy situation, they deem his remarks unimportant. This is insane and suicidal behavior. One imagines how *<much worse>* the Supervisors would behave, if the Emperor were not a lover of Justice! He has often taken the Supervisors to task, for they have refused to prosecute the offenders (*βιάστοις* = chief adversaries) and failed to notify him of the offenders’ misdeeds, while poor people lamented the violence inflicted upon them; he was willing and able to prevent this violence. He even enjoined everybody to eliminate all irregularities. The Supervisors also took an oath (*ὅρκων* and *δμωμόκατε*) to work for the benefit (*συμφέρον*) *<of the community as a whole>*. The author exhorts them to come to their senses and choose between God and the Devil: God wishes to preserve spiritual and material values—which include the *<Supervisors’ own>* offices; the Devil, to bring about utter destruction by introducing injustice. If the present state of affairs is hopeless, it is because of the Devil, who preys upon the author’s compatriots more than upon anybody else. In view of this, the Supervisors should act without delay. Otherwise a general collapse may ensue and they will be left with nothing about which to deliberate. The evil is increasing every day; tomorrow may be too late.

2. It is risky to make a positive statement about a truncated Byzantine speech. The risk is doubled when the fragment is a peroration, containing only imprecise allusions to the preceding subject matter of the speech. I shall, however, assume that the *Fragment* is unpublished. I shall also suggest that, before finding their way into *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, the *Fragment* and the *Discourse* may have been among Cabasilas’ papers, and that the *Fragment* may have been composed by him. The first of these suggestions is prompted by the draft character of the *Discourse* and by the proximity of the *Fragment* to the *Discourse* in *Parisinus Gr. 1276*; the second by similarities in thought, form, and language between the two texts.

We find in both the F(*ragment*) and the D(*iscourse*), a final exhortation to take the side of God rather than that of the Devil, who is incapable of any good action (F 56/58; 62/65: D 59; cf. 59,19/20); the thought that the adversaries’ actions are unprofitable in addition to being morally wrong (F 18/21: D 23) and that they lead the adversaries to damnation (F 21: D 29,1); the idea that nobody would do evil without hoping to obtain some ad-

vantage thereby (F 23/25: D 23,15/18); the mock assumption that the adversaries act out of ignorance (F 26/30: D 1,2; 7); and the accusation that they “banish God” (F 42: D 30,6/9; cf. 21,25). Once in the *Fragment* (6/7) the author adduces the adversary’s objection, recognizable by the φησίν embedded in it. This device, which must have been used throughout the missing parts of the text, is also adopted in the *Discourse* and in Cabasilas’ treatise *Against Usurers*.

Finally, in both phrasing and vocabulary the number of similarities shown by the *Fragment* and Cabasilas’ treatises goes beyond what, in my opinion, one would expect from juxtaposing texts belonging to the same genre but written by different authors. The victims of the adversaries are called ἀσθενεστέρους (F 10 and D 51,4); they are given to lamenting: βίαν ὀδυρομένων (F 50), cf. βιῶντας καὶ ὀδυρομένους (D 38,32/33). The adversaries are πλεονεξίαν τολμῶντες (F 26/27) and πλεονέκτας (D 28,3; cf. 49,3) respectively; also, βιαίοις (F 50) and βιάιος (D 21,30); their criminal exactions are described as χρηματίζεσθαι (F 19) or χρηματίζόμενος (D 52,12). The expression ὡνήν καὶ (ἢ) πρᾶσιν occurs in both texts (F 10: D 34,26); so does μὴ βουλομένους ‘against the will’ (F 10: D 38,18; 46,18; cf. 41,24); τὸ πονηρὸν δίψαντας κέρδος “having abandoned the ill-gotten gains” (F 15/16) is paralleled by ἀπαν κέρδος ... ἀν ἔρριψας in *Discourse*, 52,13 (cf. 31,7) and by δίψαντας τοὺς τόκους in *Against Usurers*, Migne, PG, CL, 749B. For παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τοὺς νόμους (F 19), compare τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ (D 47,3) and τὰ δίκαια καὶ τοὺς νόμους (D 25,9); for τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὸ βάραθρον (F 28), compare ζητεῖς βάραθρον (Migne, PG, CL, 733A) and ἄξιοι ... βαράθρων (D 33,9); for the expression τεῖχος ἀναστῆσαι ... ἢ ἐπανορθῶσαι (F 33/34), compare τειχῶν ἀνορθώσεις (D 20,19) and τεῖχος ... ἀνορθούμενον (D 21,15). The thought that the adversaries ‘banished God,’ τὸν θεὸν ἐξέβαλον (F 42), occurs twice in the *Discourse*: in the First Version, where the phrase is ἀμφισβητεῖν τῷ θεῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ ... τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκβάλλειν (30,6/7), and in the Second, where it reads τὸν θεόν ... ἐκβάλλεις (21,25). Stress is laid in both the *Fragment* and the *Discourse* on τὸ συμφέρον (F 53: D 47,4). The adversaries have taken (and broken) an oath: διμωμόκατε (same form in F 54 and in D 38,7; cf. 39,17).

3. The *Fragment* may deal with pressures brought to bear by large land-owners upon smaller ones, a process watched by conniving or powerless central authorities, or it may be concerned with other issues. In any case, both the *Fragment* and the *Discourse* deal with social tension in late Byzantium. Both may even refer to the same situation and take up the defense of monasteries. True, in the *Fragment* there is not a single explicit reference to attacks on monastic property or to simoniac ordinations, only to the “poor” (πένητες) and the “weaker” (ἀσθενέστεροι). But if only 49 and 51 of the *Discourse* had been preserved, we would have no means of identifying the “poor” and the “weaker” of these paragraphs as monks.²¹ The feeling of impending doom is not ex-

²¹ *Fragment*, 38/43 implies that the misfortune befalling the “poor” and the “weaker” is of more importance than the injustice suffered by a mere ιδιώτης. Is it not so because the “poor” are people of some consequence, or of a status different from that of the ιδιώται? The author of the *Fragment* may include himself among the persecuted “poor.” Cf. ήμᾶς of line 43.

1. *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, fol. 65v: Hands A and A²

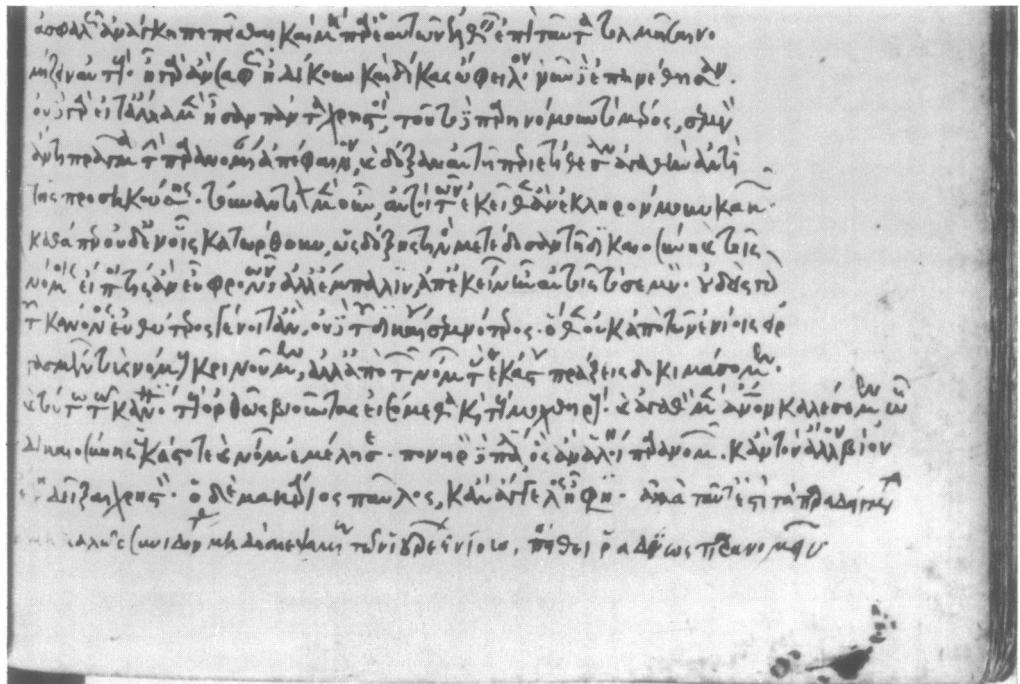
65

2. *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, fol. 66^r, top: Hands A and A²

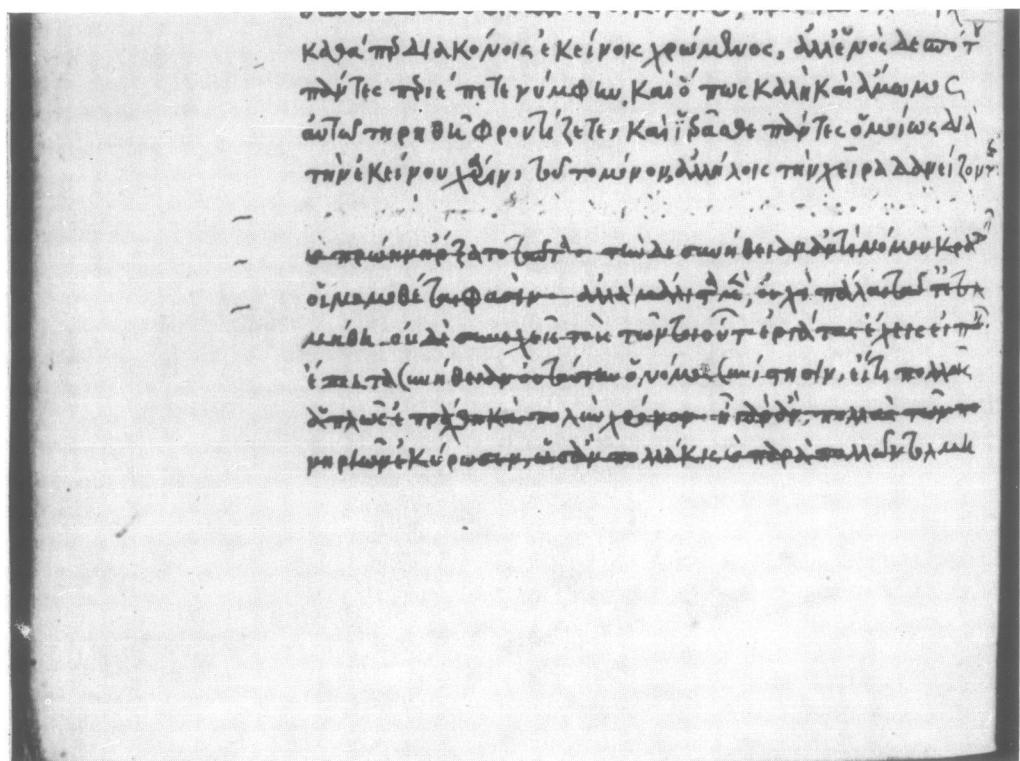
3. *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, fol. 75v, bottom: Hands A and A²

πολεστικόφιλερι. ἀλλοδέκτηνδιπάναι, οὐκρουδείσιμει
ψατοτοικότηνδιμήνοις, οὐδέ περιβάτοςκαίθινέμητύρτο,
καίδικαςκάλυτημώροις· τάλλούτωτηντηδέτεκάκως, ώ
ιποδηπόδρυμοις· ἵροσυλίκαιάλκιςδάκρυδιαδί^τ
λικικότωράνωρ, ζεύτωςδιονύτοςεπτίωρκαίδινων
χοιτός, ωτέτρομοςαλιστεχ^τ, πικράλυμαγεατόβια
χρωμάτοις· ὄπειρωνούτελκοιλάθετεσύδετη, καὶστοὺ
ἀπόμενα, δύρθοτυπηρόσεικαΐζειτηνέκαταπάτεις
νόμοια· οὐκοιδόσκεστήτεπεργιαζόμενος; οὐ(ωραῖ)
πιέτοβρ, πιδέκειροςκατόνυμοθετεῖς; εἰκαϊδικά^τ
ρούτικαδάπτωπλατύτερηπρισάλινοκείδες, ωσδή
οὐφερόπλατον, δέσποιννερκατηνέδετην; οὐκάνκατόδες;
οὐκάρεπεθύμησανίκαδιδηνασειτηργόρ; πισώ
ταΐσθαλμος· καίδρειστυνασδέτειςδοκιμάζειστη
νόμοια· οὐκρίσαντηπριπώμεντωράντειςπριπάτης
λιλλάπιστηνφοτικαδάπτεκειρος· οὐκαταγιφόγιαλι
ωτικίνοσέπητάχρεσίδω, δύτεισθετις, τάλλοκοντα
ρόυδετητελειπετεταγέρωσθον, οὐδέπερδοκά
σκηπόκι· οὐδέδιπελονανίκαλαδικαδάπτωπλη
τότετοικαταφροντάσιμοιρήτ· καίτοιπολώχεισω
πιπτητηρέκειρωπέλιμηνιωτάσα· οὐδέπριπτηλά^τ
εκρόθη· οὐδέδιπελονανίκαλαδικαδάπτωπλη
στ· οὐδέδιπτημικας· καίσεστηδιέτηρδέδηδετρ· καί^τ
κειροσμέν, τιςπεστητηρόνδιάνωυρονη, δέσονούκινα
ιδικτησετηρούδαπτεπιδιστηρ, οὐδέπτηρόσηραζειδί^τ
ευτόλεσσομ, ἀλλάκαταστητηντηφορδέχοιλνος, ως
διπτηρπεστηρότηρηγάρινωρ, ζεποτημήγηδεδετη^τ
εκόσμορέστητω, τικαντούφωρωτάκληνον, θηρόμεστη^τ

οὐ μάταιον γε
νόμησιν ταῦτα
μάταιον γένεσιν
ταῦτα μάταιον
μάταιον ταῦτα
μάταιον ταῦτα



5. *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, fol. 78^r, bottom: Hands A and A²



6. *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, fol. 82^v, bottom: Hand A

vide Pag. 2. fol. 86.

96

θείους. Μέτεκπροκύρωτοι γαλακτώμενοι εδών τεχνοί νομό^ν
θείων φρούριον, ὃ περὶ τοῦτον θόσοντες εἰναι καὶ ψήφους τε τεχνη^ν
τικῶν. Διάγρανθι τὸν πόλευρον τοῦτον κεραμεῖται (καὶ τὸν πόλευρον
πεπλανισθείσαντα) μεταξύ τοῦτον καὶ τοῦτον εὐθεῖαν: Καὶ πάλιν,
τοῦ (καὶ θεοῦ) κατηγορίας λεπτώσας οὐδὲν τε γούκαπτος οὐδέποτε
καὶ τούτης τοῦρα διορθώσας οὐδὲν τε γούκαπτος οὐδέποτε.

8. *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, fol. 96^r, top: Hand A

ζεράνης πολιτείας την οποίαν έγραψεν ο Καλλίπολης στην Αθηναϊκήν πόλην, με
την οποίαν θεωρείται ότι αποτελεί την πρώτη γραπτή αναφορά στην Ελλάδα.

Side pag. 96.

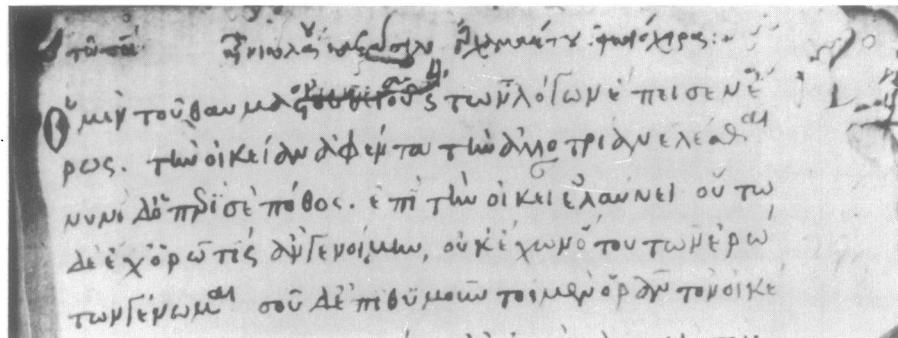
9. *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, fol. 86v, bottom: Hand A^b

εἰ τὸ δύνατον μεμψιλός στέβειν Κελσός καὶ πόρον
γολλούσιον δοκεῖ φέρειν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ χωρίου; οὐ
δηπάντο τούτο Κείρ. σ. φτλ. οὐδὲ οὐκαιρόνες καὶ διπλακού-
μενοί πλάνα πονηράνθησαν; Φέρειν διτελεῖται χρη-
μάτια πειραϊκά δικαστήματα παραχθάντα στοιχεῖαν
χρείου μετέμνητε βεστίδων μητέ ποντίσια φερούσι προστί-
θράκεια μέντορά παραχθάντων, πλέον διπολέντερον μη-
δοτίσια πλευράσια φεστοράς καὶ δέ ποιοι εἶναι, κατὰ τὴν
μητέ μητέ πολεμώργαλον, επιτέλη μητέ πριτώρων
εἰκάλεσθε; Βαῦλα τύχοντας της ητοκιαστικής πορτού των,
οὐδεμίας - εἴτε διπλακοπεῖται αὐτή ρεποδαστοῖς
φερούσινες - οὐδὲ σωτήριον δικαιάμενον διδοτανό
λιπέσθαι πανταλόνα, ήσαν τε τέλοις λοιπόν τοις ιδιοκτή-
τοις οὐδεὶς Κοίνων φελούστηκείθεν, τείρηρις εἰς τούτων πολιτικού

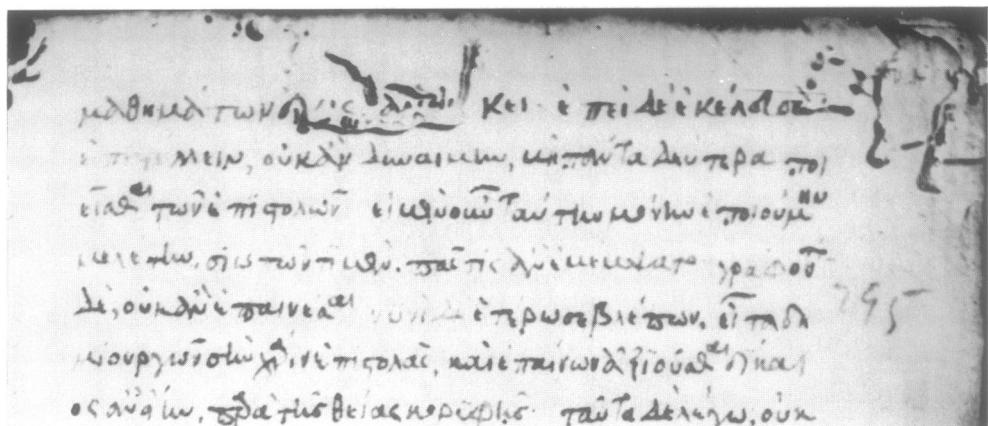
az Kármán-diskához kötődően, összefüggésben azonban a körülöttük elhelyezkedő
Kármán-turbulenciákkal. Az előző részben tükrözött körülbelül 100 m/s sebességi
arányban haladó, hagyományosan körívekkel ábrázoltak általánosított
Törökországban ismertetett, az "Egyesült" felszínre lefelé törökországi
sziget, amelyet a legtöbb szigetből különálló, különálló résznek tekinthetünk.

10. *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, fol. 72v, bottom: Hands A and A²

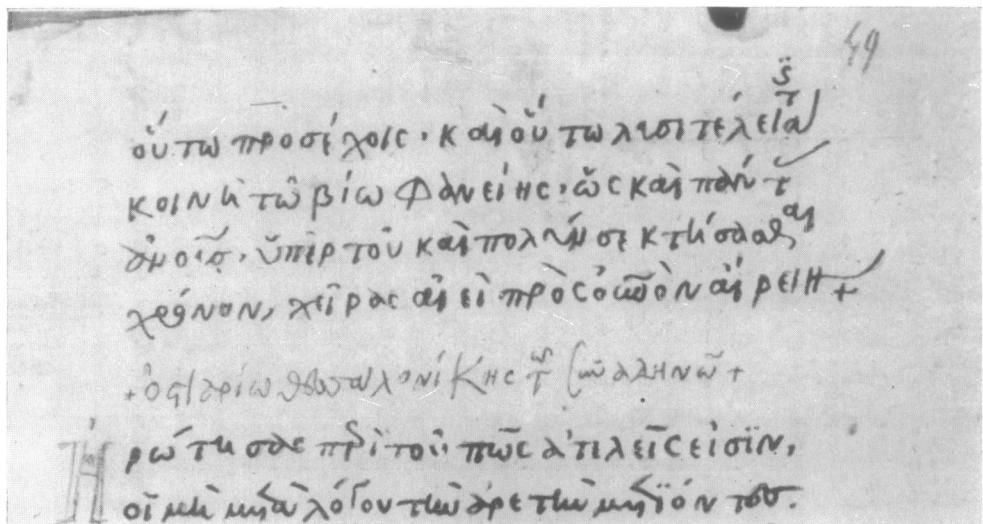
ον, γέ, οί μέν ε) καὶ βούσα· καὶ τόρε τῇδε, μέτ
 ξακριῶν ἀφύση φωνάς. καὶ καμήλει μέν δίκιος
 κλοιοῦντι τελεῖται, σακκουλέ· καὶ αὐτὸν πεστρώ
 ον, τὸ πασανδίσει ταλαιπωρίαν, ινέλεπτόν, καὶ γυ
 γνωμὴν δημιουργίας· καὶ τὸν εὐθύνην απολυγνή.
 ὅδε δέ, πέπει τάπτει· ληπτότερον πάνταν
 στρέψει, καὶ οὐκανθάτοισι, καὶ τάπταντα δρόμον
 καὶ πόδερδιλον φησίν, αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ οὐταχατεσσού
 δημιουργίαν, πλέον δέ τις ἐκ αλινιδηπλαζόντος
 προρρούμενος, στάλνε φησί πράταλνε βελίων γενά
 λεγμάτων, καὶ πασαρίνηραφίων ἀδικούνταντα.
 τί πούτο καλῶν βίαιον σῶν αλλαγμάτων τούτον
 αἰσχυνεῖτοντος. ἐπίντια ἐλκωμενοῖς πράσινοι
 βουλομένοις· οτοῖς πολλοῖς δρυνόντες, οὐδὲ
 αὐτοῖς τέλειαν δοκάντες· οὐδὲ δέ τοι τολμεῖτας, εὔθρ
 ογάται· καὶ δῆποτε οὐ φησί πάντα τούτα φησί περίσσων.
 τὸ εἴδετο ταμείοντού μεσοιδειλίων· καὶ μή, οὐτὶ
 καὶ ἀμερτιλίων ἀφεσινάτου μενοίς εἰ πειτούτου
 προστατεύονται καὶ οὐδιρομένοις, οὐπερσέ
 χειν φησίν, οὐδὲντε πτήσειν, εἴδηζον· μεταβαλοῦται
 γαρ αὐτοῖς τέ ποιε, καὶ τὸ πρυκρούν ρίψατας οὐδὲ
 δος, δεύτε φησί καὶ σταλερούμενος, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλερ
 πατέλαις αὐτούς ακατάντη· οὐαριμένηνέ φοίσην
 καὶ κατένεπτη ήταν τούτου, τούτου δικλούσσην,
 εἴτις πονηράς ἔχομενοις δηποτραμένοις· τίσουν
 εἴτικαταλαράπηδι τῷρε φασίστοις πλάτοδικον
 καὶ τοις σόμοις χρηματίζειται βουλομένοις, οὐ
 τῶν μέν χρηματοποιούτων, ὡφέλειαν οὐδὲν μάλισται
 στινεῖται εὐρών οὐδαμοῦ, οἱ διαποληφανέπελλαντα



12. Istanbul, Library of the Patriarchate. *Panaghias* 157, fol. 294^r, top



13. Istanbul, Library of the Patriarchate. *Panaghias* 157, fol. 295^r, top



14. Meteora. *Barlaam Monastery* 202, fol. 49^r, top

ceptional for the period to which I would assign the *Fragment*. In the mid-fourteenth century, it is shared by Alexius Macrembolites²² and the Patriarch Philotheus.²³ One might even toy with the idea that the *Fragment* is the final part of a discarded variant of the *Discourse*. But it may be safer to abandon this notion. In any case I do not find sufficient clues for a coherent interpretation of the *Fragment*. For the present, I shall merely describe it as the final part of a treatise, perhaps by Nicolas Cabasilas, in which we read of evildoers who force poor people to “sell and buy,” of high officials who acquiesce in these evil machinations while eagerly prosecuting petty criminals and prodding the Governor of the City to act quickly against them, of the just Emperor who upbraids the high officials for their passive attitude towards the main culprits and, finally, of well-intentioned people, including the author of the fragment, who unsuccessfully point out to the high officials the grave dangers of this situation.

²² In the “Lament on the Collapse of St. Sophia” (date: 1346), Macrembolites awaits the Last Judgment: ήμιν . . . τοῖς τὴν ἀνέσπερον ἔκεινην ἐκδεχομένοις ήμέραν. *Sabbaticus Gr.* 417, fol. 110v.

²³ In a letter to the inhabitants of Heracleia (date: Spring of 1352), *edd.* C. Triantafyllis-A. Grapputo, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. mss. Bibliothecae S. Marci* (1874), esp. p. 43, Philotheus draws a depressing picture of the Empire, with “ten or twenty cities or strongholds” still remaining: ὅτι δὲ πόλεις καὶ φρούρια δέκα ἢ εἴκοσιν ὑπελείφθησαν σφρόμενα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, πολιορκούμενα καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν ψυχορράγοῦντα καθημέραν, ἀπειθεῖς τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοκρισίᾳ . . . ; the end of the world is drawing near: κατ' δλίγον γάρ ὑπορρέει καὶ φθείρεται σχεδὸν δλον . . . καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀν ἀμφιβόλοι τῶν τὰ θεῖα πεπαίδευμένων τὴν καθόλου συντέλειαν ἐπὶ θύρας εἶναι . . .